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(*anta*), deer, pig, and agouti (*cutia*), so that today the jungle is very poor in these species. An almost equal devastation was suffered by the cheloniana, especially the great turtle (*Emys amazonica*). There are still great quantities of fish, which provide the principal food of the population. The *piracemas*, or shoals of fish which swim upstream to spawn, assume fantastic proportions. The *pirarucú* of the Solimões is an important article of export.

The insect pests, not so noticeable along the banks of the Solimões itself, transform the igarapés of the Tukuna into veritable infernos, since they desist neither in the daytime nor at night, nor at any season of the year. The worst persecutors of man are the gnats (*carapanãs*), the mosquitoes (*muruins*), and the gadflies (*mutucas*).

History

The Tukuna tribe has not been prominent in the history of the Amazon region. It is first mentioned in 1641 by Cristobal d'Acuña, the historian of the expedition of Pedro Teixeira from Belém to Quito in 1639. Acuña cites the "Tocunas" as being enemies of the Omáguas of the northern bank of the Solimões. Laureano de la Cruz mentions the Tukuna, whom he calls "Jaunas,"[1] at the time of his journey in 1649, as inhabiting the north bank of the Amazon, above the Putumayo. Heriarte in 1662 does not refer to the Tukuna by name but mentions the fights that the Omágua had with the tribes of the "solid ground" (*terra firme*).

In 1645 the Spanish Jesuits began to catechise these Omágua, and as early as 1650 the first smallpox epidemic caused the tribe heavy casualties. The upper Solimões was transformed into a battleground between the Portuguese and the Spaniards, the latter establishing their missions from the lower river up to the present Teffé, the former extending the slave hunts, under the name *tropas de resgate*, "ransom troops," to the upper river.

A series of skirmishes, battles, and retreats by each side took place, especially from 1708 to 1710. In 1732 a Portuguese flotilla ascended the Solimões and the Napo to establish a fort at the mouth of the Aguarico (75° W. long.), which Portugal claimed as its western boundary, but it was impeded in this task by the resistance offered by the missions. In 1766 the Portuguese occupied the mouth of the Içá, and in 1776 they founded the post of Tabatinga.

The result of all this was the disappearance of the Omágua from the islands of the Solimões, while the Tukuna in their jungle centers probably suffered very little. Some Omágua took refuge on the upper river; two Omágua villages persisted for some time on the Solimões, but to maintain them it became necessary to repopulate the villages with Indians of other tribes, among them the Tukuna, who during this period were taken to São Paulo de Olivença, Tonantins, Fonte Bôa, and even to Teffé.

Since they no longer had to fear the Omágua, and since the Mayoruna, their enemies on the right bank of the river, were also weakening rapidly, the Tukuna spread out more and more along the banks and islands of the Solimões to the Auatíparaná, which connects it with the Japurá.

[1] Presumably *J* equals *T*, *a* equals *oc*, in the original manuscript written in 1653 (in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

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Simultaneously, the Kokáma Indians of the lower Ucayali region began to emigrate to the Brazilian Solimões, where they established themselves among the Tukuna, though in separate localities. Their most important period of settlement was in the middle of the nineteenth century at Jurupary-tapera (Santa Cruz) on the left bank of the Solimões, between the mouth of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and that of the Igarapé da Rita.

Today some two thousand of these Indians dwell in Brazil, along the banks and islands of the Solimões from the vicinity of São Paulo de Olivença to the Auatíparaná. They live in peace with the Tukuna but avoid contact and do not meddle with them. The cultural influence of the Kokáma on the Tukuna has been practically nil.

From 1864 to 1870 Brazil was at war with Paraguay. Even today the Tukuna guard the traditions of the persecutions which they suffered from the "Varaváyu"; however, they designate by this name not the Paraguayans but the Brazilian recruiting troops, to whom they offered armed resistance. The few Tukuna recruits who returned brought back with them a new epidemic of smallpox, which caused havoc in the tribe.

In 1871 there was founded within the bounds of Caldeirão, at a spot immediately below the mouth of the igarapé of this name (today Belém), a mission which already had a nucleus of Tukuna Indians and which eventually possessed a chapel, 30 houses, and 171 inhabitants. By 1877, however, this establishment was in complete ruin.

In the last two decades of the past century the rubber-gathering industry began its extraordinary development throughout the entire Amazon region. It was for the Tukuna a sad era of exploitation, slavery, and abasement under the heel of greedy *patrões*, ignorant men but superior in force, which lasted for almost forty years; to this day they have not yet recovered from the effects, although the last of these squirearchs has long since disappeared.

However, even today there are some individuals, living at the mouths of the igarapés inhabited by the Tukuna, who willfully desire to hold the Indians subject to their selfish patronage. It is to be hoped that the Indian Welfare Service,* which was established in the region in 1942, will put an end to these anachronistic views.

There are no written records of the total number of Tukuna for any period of the past, but very conservatively I estimate their present number in Brazilian territory at more than 2,000, their total number as 3,000; they are therefore one of the most numerous tribes in Brazil.

Scientific Exploration

Before 1928 no one had studied the Tukuna in their primitive settlements. One or another traveler had been present occasionally at some episode of their celebrations, collected from the Neobrazilians of the area some not always accurate information, or had some Indian of the tribe for a paddler; but it appears that no one had spent even a day among them. The first reports, which many other writers utilized for more than a century, we owe to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha and to Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio, who were briefly in the Tukuna country

* Serviço de Proteção aos Indios.

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The javelin (ʊ̃ʊ/ũ) is a length of canna brava some two meters long and having from four to nine points; it was formerly made of smooth wood, today it is made of iron wire with a barbed point. The traders on the banks of the Solimões complain bitterly of the Tukuna for unceremoniously filching the wire from their fences in order to make these spear points, but they are too unbusinesslike to order rolls of this wire to sell retail to the Indians at a good profit.

The fisherman casts the javelin, holding it by its butt end. This procedure always gave me the impression that the javelin was the weapon reproduced in the atlas of Spix and Martius, that was formerly thrown with the *estoleca* (atlatl); but no one remembers it today. With the javelin in the right hand, and the paddle held close to the blade in the left hand, the fisherman guides his canoe under the shadow of the trees, silently and slowly.

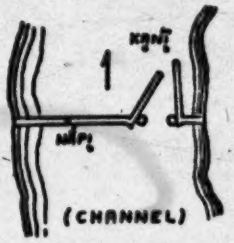

Fig. 5. Fish weir.

The ability of the Tukuna to discover fish in the depths or at the bottom is truly extraordinary and can only be explained by their spending almost half their time since childhood in this activity. If, while traveling, the Indians pass by a spot that looks promising, they constantly hurl the javelin ahead of the canoe and retrieve it, where the untutored eye sees no sign of fish. The children especially may be seen fishing in this manner and in advantageous places where they do not overlook the slightest possible chance.

Especially vulnerable to the javelin are the shoals of fish which swarm up the Solimões in fantastic numbers and enter the tributaries to spawn during May and June. In the river narrows formed by the crumbling and falling of the solid banks, the fish crowd together in such a way that any cast will bring results.

Far less used for fishing than the javelin is the bow and arrow. The arrow (na:/nẽ) is a length of canna brava, without feathering and with a barbed point, formerly made of the bone of a sloth (*Bradypus* sp.), nowadays of iron, superimposed on a wooden foreshaft.

The fisherman also often takes with him a reed with a small ball of bone, wax, or heavy wood attached to the end of the line (T., kuiˢẽ/ɟˢn̈; l.g., *uapunga*). With the ball he strikes the surface of the water, thus imitating the fall of fruits, in order to attract certain fish—especially *tambaquís* (*Colossoma bidens*) and *pacú* (*Myteles* sp.)—if he does not obtain the same results by tossing the fruit itself.

The arrow harpoon (T., vɟrẽẽ′nẽ; l.g., *sararáca*), which today has a barbed iron point or, if used for turtle (*Emys tracaja*), four spikes, has been in use since ancient times, but not the long-shafted wooden harpoon which, in my opinion, was adopted only after the Tukuna began to inhabit the banks of the Solimões. There it is employed especially in fishing for pirarucú, the principal, and for some of the Solimões Tukuna the only, staple food, as well as an important article of export.

At the mouths of the numerous lake channels and at the dead-end arms of the lower courses of the igarapés one almost always finds a weir, *tapagem* (na:′/pɟ) constructed of bamboo strips. Where it extends close to one of the banks there is an opening between two posts with a movable door (kɔ′nɟˢ) of paxiuba shoots tied

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leaves laid on the floor of the house. Dry, pulverized leaves (*massiva*) of a certain kind of manioc are sprinkled on this dough, and banana leaves are placed on top. After two or three days, when the dough is uncovered, it is crusted over with a thick layer of white mould, in which may be seen the contours of the maniva leaves. The dough, which by now has a strong, sweet taste, is cut into strips and placed in a jar, where, little by little, it exudes a liquid that in color and taste somewhat resembles a bad port wine. In time this liquor becomes harsh, corrosive, and strongly intoxicating. At feasts it is served only in individual, small, long gourds and, since the available quantity is generally not great, only to persons of a certain distinction.

To prepare paiauarú proper, the women lift the dough from its storage place in the jar and, mixing it with water, strain it into another jar, from which it is dipped in gourds to serve the guests.

The preparation of beverages is an exclusively feminine task. Care is taken to prohibit a pregnant women from taking part, since her participation would ruin the product.

No one serves himself with his own hands except the women in charge of the jars. At all the celebrations there is a "server"—generally the uncle of the child or girl who is being feted or even a closer relative—whose function is to serve the full gourds to the guests, one by one, when they are seated, or to wait on them if while dancing they pass in front of the jars, thereby indicating their desire to drink. The supply of water for filtering drinks is also entrusted to the server.

To me paiauarú has a disagreeable taste of fermentation and rot, the fibers contained in it making it even more disgusting. The Indians, however, drink it with enormous satisfaction. Becoming drunk, as often happens, they vomit, wash the mouth with water, and continue to swill. If the beverage is to be kept in a "new" jar, used for the first time, they take care to call in the shaman, *pagé*, to remove with gestures any invisible substance that might blind those drinking from the container.

Besides these three beverages, there are still other fermented drinks, which are, however, rarely prepared, such as dëdne-ɛ̈ɨ'ɨ from cane (dë'dne) juice boiled and fermented in a jar; ui'-ɛ̈ɨ'ɨ, a sort of chicha made from yam tubers; a drink made of crushed pineapple, which after two days in the jar becomes potent but is also taken unfermented as a refreshment; and another drink, pururu'ka, made from boiled and fermented bananas.

Many of the men are today greatly addicted to cane rum, *cazaça*, which they purchase or receive as "treats" in the Neobrazilian establishments. One of the axioms against which no one on the Solimões will argue is: "Sem caxaça o indio naõ trabalha" ("Without rum the Indian won't work"). The worst influence is naturally exercised by the sugar-cane establishments that have rum stills and where the work is done almost exclusively by Indians. Some owners purposely get the Indians drunk in order to facilitate their exploitation.

In Belém I saw the cashier of one place, an incorrigible sot, ply women and girls with rum merely because it gave him pleasure to seem them blind drunk. The itinerant peddlers, too, in order to persuade Indians for their own purposes, habitually initiate the haggling with a glass of rum. On the other hand, neither

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VI. CHARACTER AND SOCIAL LIFE

At first sight the Tukuna appear to be a very peaceful, industrious, and good-tempered folk. Some writers, however, accuse them of laziness, the foremost of these being Ribeiro de Sampaio, who opens his description of the tribe in 1774 with the sentence: "São os Tecunas de hum natural preguiçosissimo" ("The Tukuna are of a most indolent temperament").[1] Martius speaks of their "indolence and innate intemperance."[2] Bates calls them "much more idle and debauched than the other Indians belonging to superior tribes,"[3] and on the following page he observes: "I found them a harmless, good-natured people." Orton repeats this judgment almost to the letter: "good-natured and ingenious . . . but they are idle and debauched."[4]

Herndon calls his Tukuna paddlers "even more lazy and careless than the Sarayaquinos,"[5] but he later reflects: "Poor fellows! They have been abused and maltreated so long that they are now insensible even to kindness." And again, "The Ticunas that I had with me, however, were far the laziest and most worthless people that I had hitherto had anything to do with."[6] But again this author remarks: "I believe that this [i.e., worthlessness] is not a characteristic of the tribe, for they seemed well enough under Father Flores at Caballococha, and they have generally a rather good reputation among the whites on the river. I imagine that the proximity of the garrison at Tabatinga has not a good effect upon their manners and morals."

Barbosa Rodrigues finally declares firmly: "In general they are hard workers and of a peaceful temperament. It is only the civilized white who drives them to it [retaliation] by persecution, rape, robbery or by maltreatment, since these qualities cannot be denied them in their wild state."

The fact is, that even today one encounters the most contradictory opinions of the Tukuna character, each opinion depending largely on the observer's own attitude toward the people. Until about thirty years ago, when rubber was fetching fabulous sums, the Tukuna were brutally tyrannized by their civilized masters, who usurped all of their lands and treated the Indians practically as slaves. Even today there are in the region a few die-hards of this class of domineering squirearchs who arrogate to themselves the trusteeship of the Indians, as though it were their primordial right—indeed, almost duty—as self-appointed civilized persons. Now, however, their power is fast declining, and the Tukuna who recognize this are labeled "rebels," "insubordinate," and "loafers," because they refuse to work any longer under the old conditions; "thieves," because they feel that, even though they steal as much as possible from the Neobrazilians, they cannot possibly steal as much as the Neobrazilians have stolen from them; and "treacherous," because they will not suffer outrages and violences without retaliation.

I lived absolutely alone among the Tukuna for many months, and from the beginning I always felt completely at ease among them. Even before I became intu-

[1] Ribeiro de Sampaio, Diario da viagem ... 1774 e 1775, § 212.
[2] Martius, 1:443.
[3] Bates, 2:401.
[4] Orton, p. 320.
[5] Herndon and Gibbon, 1:247.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

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an arrow in the form of a hornet. She was revived by dyəi', who killed ma/ëi'. The spirit of ma/ëi' is in heaven today, where, as soon as the souls of the incestuous arrive, it assaults them. It is then that one hears the muted humming of the hornets of ma/ëi'.*

Incest is considered, in the first place, to be a sin against the goddess ta-ë', who, according to one version of the legend (p. 114) gave to the first men knowledge of their clans by means of jacuruxy broth, which she sent them from heaven. To a man guilty of incest she said: "Thou art corrupting the people!" and punished him in life with madness, giving him the soul of an animal. After death, when his soul succeeded in passing unharmed through the poles of the gate to/ri'ta and arrived at the house of ta-ë', she loosed upon him two monsters (čərë'ruma), which tore him to pieces.*

An incestuous act committed casually but not repeated is strongly censured and ridiculed, the guilty one being labeled an "e'pi," although this offense does not expose him permanently to collective scorn to the point of exclusion from social activities. After his death, ta-ë' will send the two čərë'ruma to lick his soul from head to toe, thus cleansing it of the sin it bears so that it may be received like any other soul.

Prolonged and public incest causes horror and repugnance, constituting a disgrace and intolerable shame for the relatives and, like similarly prohibited unions, may result in blood tragedies. A man named čiëë formed an incestuous alliance with the daughter of his paternal uncle and had several children by her. One day, when he had appeared at a celebration of one dya'iva, his nephew, the latter accused him to his face of the sin. In a fury čiëë threatened his nephew with a machete, but dya'iva killed him with one shot. His partner in incest fled with her offspring and was never seen again.

During my stay among the Tukuna of Igarapé Tacana in June, 1941, the following incident occurred. An Indian named Abilio murdered a woman and her suckling babe, "naturally" because of jealousy, said the Neobrazilians. The real reason, however, was this: Abilio's father-in-law, Joaquim tauaru' of the a'i clan, some fifty years old and several times a grandfather, began to maintain sexual relations with a daughter of his deceased brother. His wife and her son Moáca did everything to dissolve this union, but Joaquim tauaru' paid no attention to anyone, turning furious if anyone discussed the situation. As is the custom among Indians, the affair took a long time to reach the boiling point, which happened only after the girl had a child. It was then that Moáca and his mother, who had left the house in disgust and had fallen gravely ill, decided to put an end to this shameful state of affairs. As the offender's son, Moáca was loth to take action personally and so persuaded his brother-in-law, Abilio, of the same clan as Joaquim tauaru''s wife, to kill the girl and her infant. Abilio lured her to a secluded spot in the igapó, stunned her and the child with blows of his paddle and finished them off with his machete, tied the two bodies together, and threw them into the river. The bodies were discovered a little farther down, near the riverbank; the Indians immediately understood what had occurred, but their Neobrazilian boss in Belém also received

* See the legends, "The Dishonor of məva'ča," and "dyəi' and e'pi Kill the Demon ma/ëi'," pp. 124–125.

* See the legends relating to ta-ë', pp. 114–115.

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835 684 648 word of the crime and sent someone to investigate. Learning this, Abilio voluntarily went to Belém to declare that he was the killer. His explanation that "they lived like dogs" was no reason at all to the Neobrazilians, who did not understand so he returned home. A few days later the subprefect of police ordered his arrest. but after several days he was released, to the great satisfaction of the Indians of Tacana, who were said to have been determined to free him by force. As a matter [732] of fact, after all this, Joaquim tauaru' did appear to me to be mentally unbalanced when I encountered him. The Indians said that he had already acquired the nature of a dog: one girl, who watched him from a hiding place, observed that he dug the earth with his fingernails like a dog!

Law

685 *Crimes.*—I have never heard of theft occurring among the compound families characteristic of Tukuna local groupings, but it does happen away from their confines, even among fellow tribesmen. The person robbed, eventually aided by his relatives, deals personally with the thief. Willful thieves cannot hope for very gentle treatment on the part of the victims. A certain nai'a'k[of Igarapé de Belem broke into a trunk during the owner's absence, stealing the contents, but was surprised and forced to return everything. Some time later he repeated the misdeed in another house, but not so cleverly as to avoid suspicion of robbery. Since nai'a obstinately refused to return his loot, the victim promptly shot him; but the wound was not fatal.

574 674 The great majority of crimes involving death or injury take place during work parties and celebrations, being due to drunkenness. As I have already indicated, they are almost always without a serious motive, simply because alcohol in certain Tukuna, arouses not the sexual instinct but the desire to quarrel, which is directed most of the time against their own relatives. A fight at Igarapé da Rita that ended with the death of one person and the wounding of two began with insults which an Indian for no apparent reason hurled at his father. Strangely numerous are the quarrels among drunken brothers-in-law. Could this be some a preconscious hostile feeling against the intrusion of another clan into the family? Moreover, in the language of the Guaraní, who have no such clan organization as the Tukuna, the word for brother-in-law, *tovayá (ra)*, means also "competitor" and the verb *ahovayá* means "to be against."

672 273 In any case, as I have already explained, the Tukuna appear to consider drunkenness an extenuating circumstance, which absolves the criminal almost completely of responsibility. This point of view appears in the lack of concern about such incidents: "He was soused!" they say, and that is the end of it. Even a murdered man's own relatives, at first naturally enraged, gradually accept this point of view which they would never do if the crime were committed in cold blood." However a certain aversion to the slayer always remains, and if he is so imprudent as to glory in the deed, the relatives of the victim may still have a sudden and violent reaction and seek revenge. It is, however, true that a killing by a drunken man will not per se provoke reprisal.

[732] See pp. 106 ff. for the story of the execution of an evil shaman.

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Property.—The Tukuna apparently lack the concept of a rigidly delineated territorial zone as the tribal patrimony. They never protest against Neobrazilian usurpation of almost all the lands formerly at their disposal, nor do they squabble over boundaries with the Neobrazilians or with other tribes. In fact, the region is so immense and the population so scanty that difficulty over land rarely arises, as it may do when a *civilizado* forces an Indian to abandon his own plot because the land now belongs to the former or when sharpers extort "taxes" from the Indians inhabiting lands which never belonged to any civilized person.

Formerly the Tukuna were restricted to certain areas by the presence of neighboring tribes, some of them avowed enemies, like the Omágua and the Mayoruna. With the disappearance of this pressure the Tukuna began to spread out beyond their territorial limits, knowingly, but without any scruples.

A Tukuna will not quarrel with a Neobrazilian over land or over fish in the igarapé; even less will he quarrel with his tribesmen. As for land, he desires only that it be productive; it does not enter his mind to pass land on to his descendants, nor does he sell it as his own property. If his children move, they lay no claim even to the fruit trees their parents planted at the old site. Everywhere there are Tukuna taperas (abandoned, jungle-grown plantations) with numerous fruit trees. Who planted them and where the former owner is now living is well known, but once he abandons his property, anyone who so wishes may take possession.

A house is the property of the person who constructed it or ordered it built—usually the head of the family—who may abandon, sell, or give it away over the protests of other family members. The clearing belongs, not to the man who felled the trees, but to the woman who planted and weeded it, as we have seen in the discussion of divorce, though the entire family, if normally organized, benefits from its produce. In general, each person, even a child, is the owner of whatever he makes or of whatever is made for him.

Inheritance.—Objects used exclusively by men may not be inherited by women, and vice versa. When I asked an Indian, who had neither sons nor brothers, who would inherit his shotgun, he answered that it would belong to his son-in-law. If the couple should separate, he said, his daughter would keep the weapon and give it to her next husband; thus, the actual inheritor was the daughter. Normally, the legacy passes from father to son or, if there are no sons, to a brother, brothers-in-law being considered only if there are no sons or brothers. Correspondingly, daughters inherit their mother's property. I have never observed any disappointment or disagreement over inheritance, even when the objects were relatively valuable, such as firearms or a sewing machine.

Chiefs

There is absolutely no political organization today. The Tukuna never had a supreme head, and a clan government could not obtain because the clans were not localized. But what they apparently did have until not too remote times were chiefs of local groups inhabiting the various igarapés tributary to the Solimões. These heads of large families possessed magical powers, intelligence, and ability to deal with strangers, especially with the *civilizados*. Owing to these qualities, they gained a limited ascendancy over fellow members of the group who would approach them

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622 with their problems in search of aid and advice. In spite of this, they had no right to punish or coerce anyone who balked at their admonitions. The Tukuna title of these men was të'/tị; on feast days they were distinguished by their feather caps, na:patĕe (described on pp. 37–38).

[773] According to the legend of the origin of languages (p. 130), the first of these chiefs was a certain dəvị, who was also the first man caught by the culture hero dyəi'. The last on Brazilian soil appears to have been Domingos ču'nekị of Igarapé de São Jeronymo. The institution was undermined by the Neobrazilians, who, as

[177] lords of the rubber forests and the Indians, pressed these chiefs into their own service.

622 In place of the të'/tị, who exercised their main influence within the traditional
● 648 tribal limits, there arose the *tuixáuas* (in Brazil) and *curacas* (in Peru), whom their masters appointed and made into mere instruments. These poor devils were condemned to lie to their "charges" in order to please their masters, and to lie to the latter so as not to be completely despised by their fellows. As late as 1929 I knew a few of these: all ended by being bullied by other Indians of their own group, who at heart never recognized their authority.

There are today a few Indians of recognized superiority, like Calixto daueru'kị of Igarapézinho de São Jeronymo (pl. 10, *e*) and Nino çvën[ⁿ]kị of Igarapé da Rita, to whom the others resort as they formerly did to the të'/tị, but these owe to the Neobrazilians the dubious honor of nomination.

War

721 The Tukuna are not warlike; their few fights with the Neobrazilians are isolated acts of vengeance or defense.

Weapons.—War weapons are the bow, vęra' (p. 30), the curare-tipped arrow,
411 kɔ:'ru, and the equally poisoned lance, va:ma'gu, above all, the last named. According to Tessmann, the Tukuna do not use clubs. On several occasions during ceremonies I observed men carrying four-sided clubs with a rounded grip, va·'ra, about a meter in length. Possibly, these are in imitation of clubs used by the northeastern Neobrazilians, who customarily attend celebrations so armed, for the Indians are by no means the only ones who fight on such occasions. Formerly, the Tukuna also used a round shield, nači'në, of tapir leather. The blowgun was not used in warfare. They defended the paths leading to their dwellings with pointed stakes of paxiuba poisoned with curare (tụpe'). This method is described in the traditional story of the "Tapera Surára."

[173] In the abandoned plantation of this name, on the left bank of the Alto Igarapé de São Jeronymo, in the old days a Tukuna killed a relative. The dead man's parents complained to the authorities at São Paulo de Olivença, who sent soldiers to the igarapé to arrest the murderer. But the inhabitants of the place put poisoned stakes on the path. Several soldiers were wounded, and the rest returned without completing their mission. The Tukuna, however, abandoned the place from that time on.

648 *War with the Omágua.*—The most feared enemies of the ancient Tukuna—one might say their only enemies—were the Omágua. "[The Omágua] attacked by
[727] canoe, with great spears. They captured many; some of them were sacrificed to their idols and the rest served as slaves in their husbandry." A Tupí-speaking tribe

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of canoe warriors, they had a culture noticeably superior to that of the Tukuna, who in many ways were influenced by them. According to Padre Samuel Fritz, in 1691 they inhabited twenty-three villages, situated exclusively on islands of the Rio Solimões, between 67 and 72 degrees longitude. The Tukuna called them a'/vane ("of water"; *awa*, the Omágua name for themselves).

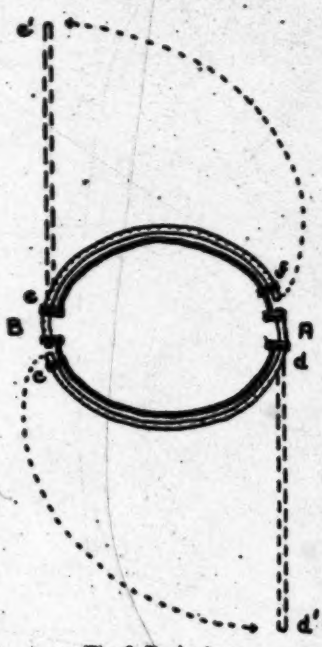

Fig. 9. Booby trap.

Myths of the culture hero brothers tell of the first appearance of the Omágua (p. 128). In a different way the same subject is referred to in the legend of mẽta'rũ and va'i'či'kị (p. 145). There is no report of a Tukuna attack on the Omágua islands, because in the old days Tukuna navigation was still very primitive. They limited themselves to defense when attacked in their igarapés, and to eventual pursuit of the enemy to the banks of the Solimões. Legends and tradition contain many references to these battles: witness the following.

The Tukuna descended the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and, arriving at the mouth, blew their horns. Then the Omágua came up the igarapé in their dugouts just as the Tukuna were gathered for a feast in a large maloca which used to be at dyumaritị', on the left bank of the igarapé, just above the mouth of the mai'a-tị. After capturing and killing the Indian who had gone to invite his comrades to the celebration on his return trip, they attacked the maloca where all were gathered. In the same hour, however, the Tukuna from the upper igarapé arrived to take part in the feast also and, seeing what was taking place, immediately fell upon the Omágua, killing them all. One of these, already wounded by a poisoned lance, still wished to steal one of the uariciána statues and dragged it to the steep bank. There his strength left him, and he, together with the

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648 statue, rolled over the edge and disappeared with it in the waters of the igarapé. Even today the
173 song of the drowned statue may be heard sometimes.
726 All the Tukuna now gathered together at dyumaritʃ', awaiting the Omágua. They came two days later in great numbers and attacked with arrows. The battle was hotly disputed, the warriors standing sometimes ankle deep in blood. The Tukuna killed many Omágua on the battlefield and killed others during the retreat; those who escaped foundered in the whirlpool at the mouth of Igarapé de São Jeronymo and were drowned.

At the battlefield the earth became spongy with the worms feeding on the bodies, and sank; [the depression] may still be seen there today. The worms were later transformed into little acarí fish.

648 Another time, the Omágua assaulted a festive gathering of the Tukuna, this time
726 far up the Igarapé de São Jeronymo in the vicinity of Igarapé dyu'/na. At the mouth of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, the Tukuna had placed guards, who repelled the Omágua while these were fighting the crosscurrents at the mouth of the igarapé.

713 Once, the Tukuna set up an ingenious booby trap (fig. 9) at one of their own
726 houses at which they expected an attack. Anticipating the arrival of the Omágua, they cut two assahy palm trees with thin and very elastic trunks, fifteen to twenty centimeters in diameter, so long that they stretched from one of the two doors of the house to the opposite one. On the outside of the house they tied one of the trunks (*c–d*) firmly at the posts of door A in a horizontal position a meter and a half above the ground; they tied the other trunk (*e–f*) at the posts of door B in the same way. They then bent trunk *c–d*, pressing it against the outer house wall, and held it at point *c*, beside door B, with a loop of cipó passed through the wall. In the same way they set trunk *e–f*, bending it and securing it at *f*. This completed, all shut themselves inside the house to await the arrival of the enemy.

Espying the Omáguas' approach through cracks in the house wall, they waited until the enemy were all inside the yard and surrounding the house, and then they cut the cipós simultaneously at *c* and *f*. Tied now only at one point, the elastic trunks, with a strong backlash, returned to their normal straight positions, *d–d'* and *e–e'*, knocking down and wounding many of the enemy.

727 Unlike the Omágua, the Tukuna never took prisoners or kept trophies from the enemy dead.

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Marriage and Family Life

582 According to my Tukuna informants, theoretically a girl may marry as soon after the puberty ceremony as she wishes. However, in practice I have never heard of a girl marrying until the hair had grown anew and had been clipped again, while many remain spinsters for some years afterward, if not for their entire [836] lives. Even today sexual intercourse before the puberty ceremony is unimaginable and, according to some, this held formerly for premarital intercourse as well.

836 I have reason to suppose that nowadays the jungle and the silent waters of the igapó, over which the small fishing canoes rapidly glide without leaving any betraying evidence, conceal the secrets of many lovers, whose parents suspect nothing. The Tukuna, however, because of the few barriers to marriage apart from incest rules, vigorously resent any deceit on this score, which may result in very serious conflicts. Parents consider secret relations between a man and their daughter a grave offense; they demand an explanation from the imprudent man [584] who did not respect "their home" and advise him that he had better marry the girl. If he refuses, which almost never happens, his only recourse is flight.

684 Some thirty years ago a certain Marcolino čaita′ married the elder of two daughters of one daura′ńkį. After some time he became enamored of his sister-in-law. If he had asked permission to marry her, daura′ńkį probably would have given it, but čaita′ abandoned his wife and fled with her sister. Accompanied by his brother, daura′ńkį furiously pursued the pair and overtook them; he slapped them both, bound the girl and threw her into his canoe, and let čaita′ go scot free on the beach. As soon as the son-in-law found himself free, he jumped on daura′ńkį, who killed him with a club during the struggle.

[177] Rape never occurs among the Tukuna, who know of this crime only from the Neobrazilians. When I attempted to get some concrete information on this, those 684 whom I approached merely answered: "If she will not—who may take her?" Cer- ● 648 tain *civilizados* who assumed that such a crime could be committed with impunity against an Indian woman have come off very badly with the Tukuna. A trader called Joaquim Balieiro arrived in his craft, manned by two civilized paddlers, at the place of an Indian on Lake Cajary, where he found at home only a young boy named Izidoro čẽča′kakį and his virgin sister. The trader requested permission to pass the night in the house, which was granted. Later on, the three Neobrazilians conceived the plan of getting the boy drunk so as to be able to take advantage of the girl. They gave him plenty of *cachaça*, but let the cat out of the bag prematurely, before he had become sufficiently drunk. Thus čẽča′kakį understood what was afoot and attacked the three with fury, shooting and killing the trader, while the paddlers barely succeeded in escaping. One of them, whom I knew personally, was gravely wounded. Back among their own kind, they said that čẽča′kakį had assaulted them with intent of robbery.

Again, in a certain igarapé there dwelt an Indian who had two young daughters; farther upstream lived two rubber gatherers. Going down to their tent on the bank of the Solimões one day, these two found the Indian there. Seeing that he was lingering, the two hurried back, entered his house, deflowered the two girls, and then left in their canoe for their camp. Shortly after, the Indian returned

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and, learning what had happened, called some relatives, scouted out the two rubber gatherers by land, fired at them from the beach, and killed them both.

Courtship and marriage.—A type of marriage preferred by the Tukuna is illustrated in figure 12: A marries the sister of B, while B marries A's sister. Generally, the suitor asks for the girl through her paternal uncle, who also exercises decisive authority in this matter. The initiative never stems directly or indirectly from the girl. In ancient times the parents and uncles arranged the marriage when bride and groom were still children, sometimes only five years old, I was told. After puberty the young people were obliged to carry out the agreement made by the parents and were requested to "get used to each other." Personally, I have never come in contact with an arrangement of this sort.

Some youths who realize their moral or economic unfitness for marriage, or who are afraid of the girl's parents, delay excessively the declaration to her paternal uncle while continuing to boast before their comrades: "She is mine!" Thus they come to excite ridicule and are finally forced by their companions' derision to desist or finally to declare themselves. Perhaps the only intermediary the swain can procure is the girl's father; he, however, always sends the suitor to the girl's uncle, who has the right of veto, since the parents habitually avoid opposition in order not to provide a motive for future discord between the families. It is only afterward that the girl's mother has an understanding with her future son-in-law, seriously advising him to treat her daughter well; otherwise, she will take her back. Meanwhile the request and subsequent declarations are so handled that persons not concerned are never aware of them; any attempt by an outsider to interfere would be considered an affront. If the girl peremptorily refuses to accept the suitor, not even her uncle, notwithstanding that he has given his consent, can force the issue. A curious reason for refusal was given by dɔ'tanĵna when one bere' proposed marriage. She rejected him because he was "too hard a worker." bere' is known as one of the most diligent Indians in the region—a planter of large clearings, an assiduous fisherman, and an able canoewright. dɔ'tanĵna, known as a sluggard, has nothing and does not know how to make anything, lives at her brothers' expense, and with good reason was afraid that, if bere' were her husband, his activities would mean too much work for her.

Apparently, some suitors muster the necessary courage to declare themselves only after imbibing a good quantity of paiauarú at some feast attended by the girl's family. Even so, the business is broached without the other guests' being aware of it, since the youth never publicly announces his request but asks the girl's uncle privately, in some corner where no attention will be attracted. At the close of the party the numerous guests suddenly learn, though with no great surprise, that So-and-so and What's-her-name are already married (*que fulano e sicrana já estão casados*). It is not the custom to give presents either to the bride or to her parents, nor do the latter demand chores from the bridegroom before the wedding.

Polygamy.—It is legitimate for a man to marry more than one woman at the same time, but polygamy is rare. I heard of only one Indian who had three wives, viz., the late Domingos ču'nekĵ, who died between 1910 and 1920, last chief at Igarapé de São Jeronymo and a famous shaman. He married three sisters whom

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Customarily, these manifestations are the following. A boy, or a girl in seclusion, begins to have repeated visions during which he or she converses with the ma:'-gita (p. 135), who sometimes conduct the young person's soul temporarily to their dwelling. From these immortals the visionary learns of the imminence of a cataclysm that will destroy the *civilizados*, and of the means by which the Indians may survive the disaster. Escape generally depends on their assembling in some indicated spot sheltered from the catastrophe, and on the performance of certain ceremonies. However, as soon as this assembly takes place, the Neobrazilians, judging the Indians by themselves, fear a revolt and with more or less brutality intervene to crush the movement. Such interference, however, does not prevent its resurgence at more or less lengthy intervals, as long as the four features cited above remain in vigor.

Thus the Tukuna told me that forty or fifty years ago the prophecies of a girl in Peruvian territory resulted in a gathering of Indians from both Peru and Brazil. One day Neobrazilians surrounded the assembly and attacked it with firearms, killed some Indians, thrashed the rest, and carried off the girl prophetess to an unknown fate.

Some ten years ago a young Indian named Aureliano, of Cuyarú on the Rio Jacurapá, began to experience visions. They made him a house set aside from the others, where he remained alone to receive the revelations of the immortals. Since the conduct of the assembled Indians offered not the slightest excuse for intervention on the part of the *civilizados*, they finally arrested Aureliano for failure to pay taxes on guitars and fiddles he had made.

The seer of São Jeronymo.—I am a little better informed on the last movement of this nature, which took place in January, 1941, two months before my second visit to the Tukuna.

In a spacious house on solid ground on the left bank of Igarapé de São Jeronymo lives the Indian José Nonato with his wife, daughter, and four sons. In order to reach the house from the bank of the igarapé it is necessary to cross over almost a kilometer of igapó. Parents and children appear to be pure-blooded Indians, the woman belonging to the Mutum clan, the father and children to the Muirapiranga clan. None of the family speaks even the most elementary Portuguese. All exhibit the Tukuna physical type, at best very coarse, in its crudest form. Only the second son, ɲora'ne, is distinguished from the rest by his slightly more attractive features and a more intelligent look. In 1940 he was about thirteen or fourteen years old. When I saw him, I observed no pathological signs.

As 1940 wore on, the lad suddenly began to have visions. While he was fishing in his little canoe near the edge of the igapó, some distance away from the house, a white man appeared to him. (Later the lad repeatedly affirmed that the man looked just like me!) Seated alone in a canoe, the stranger approached the boy, sprang ashore, and began to talk to him, asking if he had caught anything. When ɲora'ne said yes, the man asked for the catch, and left in his canoe, promising to meet ɲora'ne at the same spot three days hence.

The boy returned home, where his changed demeanor aroused the attention of his parents and siblings: the merry youth had suddenly grown serious and taciturn. His mother extracted the confession that he had seen an immortal. She

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scolded the boy, saying that this business of seeing an immortal was a lie, and what he had seen was probably a demon (ɲɔɔ'). But three days later, ɲɔra'ne again met the apparition at the spot, as arranged. This time the visitant promised that on the following day he would visit the boy at his parents' house. In fact, the boy did catch sight of his figure the next day at the edge of the jungle surrounding the house and, springing up, at once ran off to meet him. His parents and siblings, who had been watching suspiciously, thought the boy insane, and ran after him to catch him, but ɲɔra'ne disappeared in the jungle, and in spite of a careful search they failed to find him.

Three days later he suddenly appeared of his own accord. He declared that the son of *e'*pi, tẹku-kɨra' (ɲɔra'ne always referred to him as ta-na'tɨ, "Our Father!") had taken him far up the igarapé to his house on ë'varë Creek, where he dwelt with the immortals in possession of all the blessings of civilization. ta-na'tɨ charged him to tell the Tukuna the following: Everyone should assemble at the site of dyɔi''s abandoned house, taivegɨ'ne, clear a big plantation, and erect a large house in the old style for celebrating certain festivals. Afterward, a huge flood would come and annihilate all the *civilizados*, but the Tukuna at taivegɨ'ne would be spared.

Then, a kinsman of José Nonato went up to the igarapé to find the place described by ɲɔra'ne, but failed. At last José Nonato communicated the message to the other Indians of the igarapé, and most of them obeyed the instructions with the utmost alacrity. José Nonato's family was the first to move to taivegɨ'ne, while the others were still manufacturing the necessary farinha for the projected move.

According to the opinion of many, this premature departure of Nonato was an error; he should have waited until all were ready. By January, 1941, most of the Indians from Igarapé de São Jeronymo were assembled at taivegɨ'ne. Since José Nonato himself had not the slightest authority in religious matters, an old shaman named Julião assumed command, but evidently his ability to direct such a movement was also deficient. Immediately a very extensive clearing was made with admirable speed, but the construction of the great house met with difficulty since no one possessed the requisite technical knowledge.

Meanwhile, the patrão of the Tukuna at Igarapé de São Jeronymo, Senhor Quirino Maffra of Perpetuo Socorro on the banks of the Solimões, got wind of the movement and immediately realized that, even if the religious part of the movement failed, the success of the economic and social aspects of the program alone would result in his losing the services of the Indians for his own purposes and, consequently, his control over them. In order to forestall this economic threat, he traveled to the Indians' gathering place, ridiculed the prophecies as absurd lies, and threatened to deport ɲɔra'ne to Rio de Janeiro and to have the government annihilate the assembled Indians by aerial bombardment. (The Tukuna knew of aerial warfare from the Leticia territorial dispute between Peru and Colombia in 1933.) At the same time ta-na'tɨ announced through ɲɔra'ne that he was withdrawing his aid from the Indians gathered at taivegɨ'ne because one of them had committed incest—that is, had broken the exogamic moiety restrictions—with one of Julião's daughters. As a result, the Indians returned home, each one to his old dwelling place, and for the time being the movement was a failure.

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THE TUCUNA

By Curt Nimuendaju

HABITAT, HISTORY, AND LANGUAGE

The *Tucuna* (*Tukuna, Ticuna*), not to be confused with the *Tucano*, occupied the jungle tracts of the tributaries of the northern side of the Amazon-Solimões River from long. 71°15′ (Peruaté Island) to 68° 40′ W., and the upper course of the streams on the opposite side of the watershed of the Putumayo-Içá River (map 1, *No. 4;* map 5). They avoided the banks of the Amazon-Solimões, fearing the *Omagua*, their traditional enemies of the islands. When the latter disappeared, the *Tucuna* spread out over the islands and shores of the Solimões as far as the Auatí-Paraná River (long. 66°30′ W.).

The country is flat, covered by Amazonian jungle. A wide strip bordering on the Solimões River is subject to great periodical floods.

The *Tucuna*, inconspicuous in the history of the Amazon, were first mentioned in 1641 by Cristobal d'Acuña.

Rivet (1912 b) designated the *Tucuna* language as "un dialecte arawak très corropu." Only a part of his list of lexicological similarities appears to be valid, especially as he lacked sufficient reference material on the *Tucuna* language. There is, however, no doubt that the *Tucunan* vocabulary has a number of elements which were borrowed from the *Arawakan* languages, as noted also by Brinton (1901) and Tessmann (1930). *Tupí* influence is greater than Rivet supposed, being revealed in the pronouns, which he noted but did not evaluate. Correspondences with *Yurí* are fewer, but not unimportant. It is regrettable that there is not more phonetic material on this language. The *Tucanan* element, which Tessmann states is second in importance, is, as Rivet also noted, very weak. The *Mura* element postulated by Loukotka lacks absolute proof.

Martius called attention to 11 *Ge* elements in *Tucunan;* Rivet added five more examples. (Both Martius and Rivet include *Camacán* and *Masacarian* in the *Ge* family.) But, of Rivet's 16 *Ge* elements, only 4 are valid, 3 being formed of *Camacán* elements and only one of *Ge* elements.

There is, therefore, insufficient evidence for Brinton's, Rivet's, and Loukotka's inclusion of *Tucunan* in the *Arawakan* family. For the present, it is advisable to follow Chamberlain and Tessmann in considering it a separate language.

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apart, which is correlated with their lack of social organization other than blood ties. When drunk they quarrel and often cause injuries and death. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians, both parties exhibit their worst qualities. Nevertheless, the *Tucuna* are not unsociable and frequently visit one another and hold festive meetings, when they work collectively for their host. They retain tenaciously their original spiritual culture, although hard work has brought important material improvements. They now have good firearms, tools, clothes, and sewing machines, and they live in financial independence. Some, however, enticed to industrial establishments (rum factories) of the civilized people, become proletarian and then degenerate.

Moieties and clans.—The *Tucuna* are divided into two exogamous, unnamed patrilineal moieties, associated respectively with the east and west. One has 15 unlocalized, patrilineal sibs with tree names; the other has 21 sibs with bird names. Neither the clans nor moieties have outward distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments on ceremonial occasions. There is no clear relationship between clan members and their eponym, except that a person's name refers obscurely to certain qualities of the animal or plant, thus revealing his clan. A person is named by his maternal relatives the day after his birth.

The *Tucuna* maintain moiety exogamy with strict inflexibility, and in 1941 still punished violations with death. They regard incest as a sin against the goddess Taé, who punishes it by making one insane during his life and by annihilating his soul after his death.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—After coitus, conception depends on Taé, who gives a soul to children. Abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially when the father is a Neo-Brazilian, as the child would be disqualified for sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is a sin and that Taé punishes the soul of the perpetrator after death.

Childbirth takes place in a temporary shelter prepared in the bush near the house. The newborn child is immediately painted with genipa. Both parents are confined and diet until the umbilical cord drops off. Children are carried in a woven cotton sling passing over a shoulder. Slings are double in part, so that a child sits in one portion while the other supports its back.

When a child begins to crawl, there is a feast in which it is painted with urucú and covered with bits of parrot feathers while the paint is still sticky. At another feast, formerly celebrated when the child was 2 but now when it is 4, its hair is pulled out and its ears pierced. Contrary to certain authors, this operation does not endanger a child's life. About 8 months later there is a supplementary feast when the hair, having grown again, is trimmed, and the relics of the previous feast are burned.

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is unnecessary; a boy and girl may meet at a feast and leave married at the end. The wife's parents never renounce their authority over her and do not permit the husband to take her far away, which results in a certain matrilocal tendency.

Polygyny even today is considered licit, but cases of bigamy are rare. In the only case known, a famous man who was both priest and chief had three sisters as wives simultaneously. Other cases of sororate have occurred. The levirate, also formerly frequent, was considered desirable.

Jealousy may cause violent quarrels between husband and wife, but never murder and rarely divorce. Adultery, though causing scenes, is insufficient reason for divorce. Guilt is always placed on the woman. The father's authority in the family is great.

In case of robbery, the offended party requires restitution and sometimes is extremely severe with the thief.

Injuries and death occur almost exclusively when people are drunk during a feast, for alcohol stimulates certain *Tucuna* to fight. Drunkenness absolves the murderer from responsibility, but the victim's relatives always feel resentful and hostile toward him.

A house is the property of its builder, i.e., the head of the family. The clearing belongs to the woman by whom it was made.

The *Tucuna* no longer have chiefs as they are too individualistic to accept authority and as the civilized people have discredited the office by designating chiefs through whom they could exploit and oppress the Indians. Formerly, chiefs of local groups were heads of large families whose magic powers, intelligence, and ability in dealing with foreigners gave them prestige. There was never, however, a chief for the entire nation.

Death.—Until the end of the past century, the deceased and all his ornaments were placed in a large chicha jar which was covered with a vessel, buried in a cemetery, and the site sometimes marked with a rod of muirapiranga. Well-liked people sometimes were buried in the house. They put a little food, beverage, and a fire on the grave, periodically renewing it. Tessmann (1930, p. 564) incorrectly attributed secondary burial to the *Tucuna*.

WARFARE

The *Tucuna* are not warlike. They defended themselves against the *Omagua*, their principal enemies, and drove them to the banks of the Solimões River only when the latter had invaded their lands. They fought with arrows, poisoned spears, and round tapir-hide shields, and protected their paths with poisoned caltrops. They did not take prisoners or keep trophies from slain enemy. They never fought civilized people, except to avenge personal insults.

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carry his soul (naáe) to their abode and keep it there for a time. The immortals foretell an imminent cataclysm, which threatens to destroy civilized people, and instruct the Indians to save themselves by gathering at a sheltered place and performing certain ceremonies. As soon as the Indians assemble, the civilized people quash the movement, fearing a threat to their interests. This happened in 1941, when the *Tucuna* met in Taivegine, following the visionary instruction of a 13-year old boy named Naráne.

668 781 [787] [881] [648]

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